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# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,043 June 22, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express) Edition: 10 cts.

## KENYA: WHERE IS MISSING REPORT?

Christian Council had told Governor of abuses

MR. S. A. MORRISON, Secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, who attacked Eileen Fletcher's reports in Peace News as being based on "idle gossip," has himself signed memoranda to the Government of Kenya making similar charges to Eileen Fletcher's.

This fact is revealed in yesterday's British Weekly in an article signed by the editor, Shaun Herron.

The British Weekly, an unofficial organ of the free churches has an influential circulation. The editor declared that "the good name of the Church in Africa and in Britain" was involved in the current stir over Kenya. Miss Fletcher's "serious and documented charges" have been "the subject of mystifying revelations in the House of Commons—records mysteriously altered, for instance."

The editor then presented "some facts—I repeat, facts—which we invite Mr. Morrison to deny if he can."

"First: There are memoranda in the files of the Governor of Kenya which make charges similar to those made by Miss Fletcher, and they are signed by Mr. S. A. Morrison. When Mr. Morrison attacked Miss Fletcher, he did not reveal that he had made these charges himself in writing. Why did you conceal this, Mr. Morrison? Exactly what was your purpose?"

"Second: Mr. Morrison made his attack on Miss Fletcher and therefore involved the Christian Council of Kenya in a repudiation of this fine woman's courageous action but he did so without the consent, or the authority of his Council. He did worse: he consulted no member of Council or Council Executive, not even the chairman, before he made his attack. He dragged the Christian Church into what has the appearance of an attempt to cover up real squalor and he did it with sublime self-importance, of his own bat."

"These two charges are facts and Mr. Morrison is not in a position to deny them."

"But another interesting question arises. What happened to the memoranda Mr. Morrison has signed and lodged with the Governor of Kenya, in which charges similar to those

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Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale writes on page five:

"Every pound spent on war preparations condemns some child in a country for which we are responsible to die"

Next week Prof. Lonsdale writes on the Report of the Medical Research Council on radiation hazards.

## EILEEN FLETCHER STANDS FIRM

Kenya Attorney-General called to London

EILEEN FLETCHER is standing by all her statements made in Peace News on conditions in Kenya, including the imprisonment of girls of eleven and twelve years of age.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies has declared that he is standing by his statements that there are no girls under 14 years of age in prison in Kenya.

This situation was the object of fireworks in the House of Commons on June 13. Barraged by questions on imprisoned girls by Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Mrs. Barbara Castle and Mr. Paget, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd insisted that under Kenya legislation "no child under the age of 14 may be sentenced to imprisonment."

It was the court's duty to satisfy itself that a young person or child is over 14, "if necessary by calling evidence including medical evidence." The ages of children in Kenya

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## Demands for inquiry grow

PUBLIC protest and calls for an inquiry into Kenya affairs following Eileen Fletcher's articles in Peace News are mounting. The Observer, The Manchester Guardian, The New Statesman and Nation and the British Weekly have all editorially called for an independent inquiry. The Times has expressed considerable

disquiet also. Last week The New Statesman commented: "Miss Eileen Fletcher's detailed, documented and horrifying accusations against the administration of justice in Kenya imperatively demand an answer. Mr. Lennox-Boyd failed to provide one in last week's debate."

"Anyone who tries to ensure that Kenya officials observe the law, or even maintain ordinary standards of decency, comes up against a wall of bitter opposition from the Colonial Office, and is answered by misleading and often factually untrue statements by Mr. Lennox-Boyd."

"Labour's failure to divide the House last week, and thus register formal and emphatic protest against what is being done in Britain's name was an error. It must not occur again."

The Manchester Guardian (June 16), urged a Parliamentary delegation to visit Kenya, headed, they suggested, by Mr. Walter Elliot, head of a delegation in December 1953.

"State of confusion"

The Guardian urged that an extensive inquiry should be made into Kenya affairs, not simply or primarily to look into Miss Fletcher's allegations. These must certainly be cleared up; the present state of confusion cannot be allowed to remain."

The Observer (June 17) in a comment headed "No More Whitewash," declared:

"The Colonial Secretary has, so far, completely failed to shake public confidence in the testimony of Miss Eileen Fletcher."

"His account of the mysterious alteration in the prison records of the ages of the Kikuyu girls (for such crimes as consorting with suspected persons) is in itself disturbing. But does he think it really matters whether these imprisoned girls are fourteen or eighteen? To sentence any teen-age girl to life

## A-bombs: TRUMAN tells

## PEACE NEWS—

# 'I WOULD DO IT ALL OVER AGAIN'

"I MADE the decision on the facts as they existed at that time and if I had to I would do it all over again," was Mr. Harry S. Truman's reply when at a London Press Conference he was closely questioned by Peace News on the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, who attended the Press Conference as Peace News Special Correspondent, writes:

The first of the four questions which I put to Mr. Truman was:

"Would Mr. Truman say what message Stalin brought to the Potsdam Conference about the possibility of Japanese surrender?"

The reply was that Stalin had brought no message but that consideration had been given at Potsdam to a request from Japan through the Swedish embassy for terms of surrender. The terms had not been accepted until after the dropping of the A-bombs.

As a supplementary I asked if he thought that an adequate warning to Japan might not have made the dropping of the bombs unnecessary.

Mr. Truman found it convenient to reply that he could not answer a hypothetical question, but added that if he had to make another decision under similar circumstances it would be the same.

### No support for Stevenson

In answer to a further question from me, Mr. Truman said that he did not support the desire of Mr. Adlai Stevenson to see H-bomb tests abolished, explaining, rather naively, that he wished he could live for another 50 years because he wanted to see atomic energy applied for peaceful purposes, but that if that was to happen the experiments and tests must continue.

Mr. Truman said that he had not been told of the opposition to the conferring of an honorary degree on him by the University of Oxford so could make no comment except to suggest that this was due to British courtesy.

Finally I asked Mr. Truman what he felt were the prospects for German reunification and in reply he said that he had not sufficient inside information to permit him to say more than that he hoped it would take place soon.

FOOTNOTE: Mr. Truman's answer to the question about Potsdam is at variance with the account given by Sir Winston Churchill in his volume "The Second World War": "Earlier in the week Stalin had told me privately that an unaddressed message had been delivered to him through the Japanese ambassador [in Moscow] from the Japanese Emperor stating that Japan could not accept unconditional surrender but might be prepared to compromise on other terms."

This information was passed on to Mr. Truman.

## HOUSE TO DEBATE BECHUANALAND

THE first results of inquiries by the Commonwealth Relations Office into recent charges of brutalities in the Bantustan Reserve of Bechuanaland Protectorate raised in the House of Commons by Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, and documented in Peace News (May 25, June 1 and 8) are now available.

There will be a Debate in the Commons on Monday.

Mr. Noble has written that there has been no political significance "whatever" in any of the cases so far investigated.

"The African administration in Bechuanaland is improving all the time. Any defects it may have are not due to the absence of Seretse," the Under Secretary for Commonwealth Relations wrote.

Fenner Brockway, MP, told Peace News that this was "very doubtful." In the absence of Seretse Khama, now banned from Bechuanaland "for life" by the British Government, his tribesmen refuse to co-operate with the administration.

"So long as the majority of the tribe, supporters of Seretse, refuse to co-operate, the choice of administrators is limited and the best men are often not available."

"In addition, they have to act in an atmosphere of suspicion because they are regarded as pawns and often assert themselves aggressively because of this psychology," he added.

Mr. Noble stated that "hogging" usually amounts to only a few strokes with a light cane."

The reference to chainings to lion traps, was "misleading," he described them thus: "A lion trap is like a large and heavy rat trap."

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### Comment

## TRUMAN, TRUTH AND TRAGEDY

Though Mr. Truman may see no reason to regret his decision it remains true that the A-bombs dropped on Japan were the first shots in the cold war and led inevitably to the new threat of the H-bomb.

That decision must stain the honour and the reputation of those responsible for it, at any rate until they have the courage to admit that they were wrong.

And since confession must involve repentance and reparation, there must be the determination that the decision should never be repeated. Since the H-bomb is but the logical extension of the immorality of the method of war that must involve not the dropping of tests or even the renunciation of H-bombs, but the renunciation of war itself.

If we are to apply to ourselves the same tests that we demand of the Russians, that means unilateral disarmament and a change in those policies which rely ultimately on a repetition on an even more terrible scale of the tragedy of Hiroshima.

## GALWAD

By a decision taken at the Annual Meeting of the Welsh Congregationalists Peace Society it was decided that a copy of Peace News should go to every Welsh Congregational Minister. The 330 ministers will receive a copy of this issue.

In this message to our Welsh readers the Rev. Eirwyn Morgan, of Banfflosgelen Llanelli, writes of the strength of Congregationalist Pacifist witness in Wales during the past century, with special reference to Henry Richards, John Roberts of Llanbrynmair, and the late Principals Thomas Rees and John Morgan Jones.

Ministers are told of the special function of Peace News, asked to buy it regularly themselves and to urge their congregations to buy it—thereby enlightening both pulpit and pew.

Thank you, Welsh Congregationalists Peace Society. We hope other groups will follow your fine example!

AM y tro cyntaf, dyma neges Gymraeg yn PEACE NEWS. Mae llawer yng Nghymru yn darllen y papur hwn ers blyneddodod, ond bydd llawer ohonoch yn ei weld am y waith gyntaf heddiw. Yn eich plith, y mae rhai cannoedd o weinidogion yr Annibynwyr. Bu rhif yr heddychwyr yn uchel yn eich mysg chwil o gyfnod y rhyfel cyntaf ymlaen, ac erbyn hyn, prin yw'r militarwyr yn eich gweryll. Gwyddoch am dras eich pasistiaeth. Methodist oedd Henry Richards, a aeth i Golwg yr Annibynwyr yn Highbury, ac a latalodd yn y weinidogaeth am byrtheng mlynedd, cyn rhoi ei holl anrser i Ysgifenyddiaeth y Heddwch. Cyfles y Gynideithas honno ydoedd "had rhyfel yn groes i Ysbyrd Cristnogiaeth a gwir les dynolryw," ac yn y Gynhadledd Heddwch yn Bruxelles yn 1848, dywedodd Richard fod "cyfundrefn rhyfel mewn gwrtthdarawlad oesol a holl ysbyrd a naw Ewngyl Crist." Argyhoeddiad tebyg a barodd i J. R. LLANBRYNMAIR, ddatgan bod "y pigfyrch ar y magtelau dan ddelffryd unallid yr un ddanneddieth," ac i THOMAS REES, JOHN MORGAN JONES, a llu ohonoch sydd ar y maes heddiw i gyhoeddi mai ffordd y Goron ddrafn a'r Groes yn unig sydd ar agor i ddisgybion yr Arglwydd Crist.

Mae'r "Tyst" wedi arfain barn gyhoeddus yn erbyn rhyfel yn gyson. Bu pamffledi Heddychwyr Cymru yn weithfawr adog y rhyfel diwethaf, a'r "Deyrnas" yn ystod rhyfel 1914-18. Yn anffodus, nid oes genwyn bapur wythnosol na misol Cymraeg i'r Mudiad Heddwch.

Apeliwn atoch, felly, i brym PEACE NEWS, unig bapur wythnosol y Mudiad Heddwch yn yr Ynysoedd hyn. Saif a blaid egwyddlor gym ddrafn, gartref ac oddiartref, a chyhoeddi yn gyson newyddion a wthodir gan y paperau miferol poblogaidd.

Bydd eich pulpu yn glusach os darllenwch PEACE NEWS bob wythnos.

Frynwech ef eich bunain a cheiniwch ddarllenwyr yn eich eglwys.



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## DIEHARD IMPERIALISM

**I**N Mr. Lennox-Boyd's comment in the House of Commons last week that he had "no conflict or quarrel of any kind with anything Sir John Harding has said or done, either here or in Cyprus," there is not merely the decent, loyal backing that a Minister gives to his agent.

It is unfortunately all too apparent that Sir John Harding's attitude in Cyprus very faithfully represents the view of the Government.

The particular point upon which this comment arose was a reference to Sir John Harding's opposition to new negotiations with Archbishop Makarios. It is quite evident that Sir John would inevitably be so opposed, for negotiation with the Archbishop again would be a condemnation of his own policy.

That as a necessary step to the bringing of peace in Cyprus, Sir John Harding's policy will have to be abandoned, that he himself will have to be removed and the Archbishop brought back, we have no doubt.

The tragedy is that the Government is clearly bent on pursuing a policy of destructive and sterile obstinacy before consenting to face the logic of facts. At present the diehard imperialists are in the ascendant, the devotees of the "firm hand."



**T**HEIR spirit was greatly in evidence in the exchange in the House on the deportation of the Archimandrite of the Greek Orthodox Church in London, Father Macheriotis.

It would seem that the Government, in dealing with Cyprus, shares the views of Mr. C. Waterhouse, Member for SE Leicester, who would have had Britain go to war to retain its control in Egypt.

Mr. Waterhouse wants it to be made a criminal offence to collect money for the benefit of an organisation "murdering British soldiers." Now it is stated that none of the funds, with the raising of which the Archimandrite is alleged to have been connected, would have gone to EOKA. We do not suppose this would make much difference to Mr. Waterhouse; any assistance given to those who are asserting the claim of the Cypriots to the right to manage their own affairs would be equally condemned as helping an organisation "murdering British soldiers." It is not only British soldiers who are being killed by members of EOKA. At least equally foul aspect of their activities is the killing of Cypriot citizens. It is, however, British soldiers that Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Lloyd George talk about in this respect, and these are brought in when it becomes necessary that the issues under discussion shall be obscured by an emotional haze.



**O**NE observes a similar procedure followed in McCarthyite circles in America. Of a sudden the phrase "the thirty thousand American boys who were killed in Korea" comes into a speech or an article.

One knows that the reference is not prompted by compassion for these kids sent to their death, but by the need to obscure a weak point in an argument.

British imperialism is on its way out. This cannot be prevented. It is inevitable. The choice before the British people is between bringing it to an end with as much grace and goodwill and helpfulness as possible on the one hand, and, on the other, retarding it, smugling over it, and doing as much damage as possible in the process to those who are claiming their freedom.

It is a miserable tragedy that a British Government should be choosing the second way.

## Problems of Indian Socialism

LETTER FROM USA  
by A. J. Muste

**T**HIS morning I spent two hours with Asoka Mehta, Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party of India. Of course, one of the subjects that came up was the split which occurred in the Party about six months ago and led to the formation of the Socialist Party of India under the leadership of the brilliant Dr. Rammanohar Lohia.

Mehta, about 40, slightly built, with a black beard and head of hair, exhibits no outward signs of the struggles he has been through during India's campaign for independence, the turbulent years of communal conflict, and subsequently.

### FOUR SOCIALISTS

These details are relevant to a remark Mehta made in expressing deep regret over the split: that what, at least in his opinion, had been the main factor in the hold the Indian Socialist movement had on the masses was that for many years it was led by four people, three of them very young, who severally and as a team were widely known and deeply trusted as men of intellect and as soldiers who had been tested in non-violent struggle.

The four were Narendra Deva, Jayaprakash Narayan, Lohia, and Mehta. The first died not long ago. Jayaprakash holds a nominal membership in the Praja Socialist Party, but for the present is devoting himself to Vinoba Bhave's Bhodan (Land Gift) movement and taking no part in politics as ordinarily understood.

Lohia and Mehta have split. In a sense it seems as if both the mind and

heart of the Indian Socialist movement have been riven.

Jayaprakash is in some respects certainly a man who transcends parties. Next to Vinoba Bhave himself he is known throughout India and has an immense hold on the masses.

It is probably still the case that Nehru thinks of him—he said so openly a couple of years ago—as the one man who if Nehru died, became incapacitated or stepped out, could keep India united.

In a crisis the people might well make a demand for leadership on Jayaprakash, which he could not deny.

Mehta expressed the view that the split between the two wings of the Indian Socialist Party led respectively by Lohia and himself is a tactical one and hence unnecessary.

Mehta's own statement of the basis for the division, however, suggests to me that "tactical" is hardly the word for it and that it is extremely doubtful whether views as divergent as are involved could possibly function inside a single party.

Mehta's approach is, to begin with, the paramount necessity of building up the Indian economy in the next few years, to give the masses a feeling that under a "democratic" set-up this can be achieved.

Being a Socialist, he holds that this can only be done by building a society

**F**OLLOWING the Report of the Medical Research Council into the hazards accompanying nuclear and allied radiation, certain aspects of which were briefly summarised in last week's Peace News, comes a comparable report from the USA.

This has been formulated following a very comprehensive survey made by six committees of the US National Academy of Sciences—of similar status in the US to the Royal Society in Britain.

In the aspect of the matter that in the long run may have the most important consequences for humanity, the conclusions reached in the USA are the same as those that have been reached here: "We do not know."

The US Committee concerned with the genetics aspect deals in close detail with the effects of radiation from X-rays used for medical and dental purposes.

It holds that the tiniest measurable dose of radiation from whatever source has potentialities for harm in that it may have had genetic consequences.

It reaches the conclusion that the American public is building up at least one-third of the safety total, that is to say, the amount of radiation above the natural background that would produce as many mutations in genes again as will occur spontaneously.

The committee urges that the medical use of X-rays should be reduced as much as possible and that there shall be records kept for every citizen showing his accumulated life-time exposure so that limits may be applied.

### "We do not know"

**O**N the question of radiation hazards following upon H-bomb explosions the committee's recommendations appear to us to underline the criminality of the Russian and US Governments in pursuing these tests and of the British Government in persisting in its intention to join them.

The committee asks for the improvement of techniques for the monitoring of world-wide fall-out; the extension of arrangements for the measurement of the storage of radiation in the stratosphere; that there should be a controlling agency to keep records of all dumping of radioactive material in the ocean; and that an international body should set up safe standards for the marine and air disposal of radio-active materials, based on current knowledge, as early as possible.

The more one studies the conclusions of those competent in this matter, the clearer it becomes that all governments concerned, in using the inevitable scientific ignorance of the ultimate consequences of nuclear explosions as justification for the course they are pursuing, are acting in a spirit of criminal irresponsibility in regard to the welfare of the race.

### Disarm

**T**HE Manchester Guardian asks why the Government has not initiated direct talks with Russia and

which is basically socialist, not capitalist.

He recognises that there is some question whether the Congress Party will develop a socialist economy, but believes that the present Five Year Programme is tending in that direction and is a distinct improvement on the past Congress programme.

But he would evidently make great concessions in this field, since he is so firmly convinced that India's economy has to be built up fast. Otherwise, discontent will develop among the masses and they will inevitably turn to the Chinese example—to Communism—as the way out for India. In this case, India will become a part of the Communist bloc.

### INEVITABLE CRISIS

Lohia, on the other hand, according to Mehta, is convinced that what he would call the half-measures and compromises in the Nehru programme cannot solve India's problem. This will be apparent in seven years. Then the Indian masses will turn—or would have turned?—to the Socialists, provided these have not compromised their position and have not become identified in the minds of the Indian people with the Congress programme or with that of the Communists.

In other words, when what Lohia regards as the inevitable crisis comes, the Socialists must offer and be clearly seen to offer an alternative.

No one would wish to attempt a hasty judgment of these two proposals and in any event space forbids even

● ON PAGE EIGHT

America if it is really anxious to limit H-bomb tests, but so long as Governments put their trust in nuclear weapons they cannot be expected to forego the opportunity of testing them.

As The Times said:

"The danger is that rationing will only be supported by the Power which believes itself to be temporarily in the lead and opposed by those who hope by the new experiment to catch up. But that line of thought implies a clinging to the belief that it is possible to win a thermo-nuclear war; and here is the ultimate fallacy."

That is why it is essential to press not for the limitation of tests but for

## H-bomb Disarmament Germany Poland

the renunciation of nuclear weapons as part of total disarmament and the recognition that war can never resolve conflicts.

It is not from Christmas Island—the site of the British H-test—that the answer will come but from the recognition of all that the word Christmas connotes.

If Britain is to be—as she claims—a Christian island she must give the moral lead by a policy of unilateral disarmament. Whatever risks might be involved in such a test they cannot be compared with the risks inherent in a reliance on nuclear weapons and the method of violence.

Instead of setting free radio active particles, unilateral disarmament would set free the spiritual power on which peace depends.

### Conscription crisis

**T**HE growing concern about the introduction of conscription into Western Germany is again illustrated by the decision of the opposition parties to boycott meetings of the Bundestag Defence Committee.

In their desire to get the principle of conscription approved, the Government have been obliged to omit any reference to the length of conscript service from the Bill which will come up for second and third readings in the Bundestag on July 4 and 6, and to postpone that issue until the autumn.

Any call-up will, therefore, be delayed until the middle of next year, and some Social Democrats have announced their intention to repeal any Conscription Act if they win the next elections, as well they may.

### And reunification

**R**ETURNING from Moscow, the French Premier, M. Pineau, reported to Dr. Adenauer that in recent discussions on German reunification, Mr. Khrushchev said that he would rather have 20 million Germans with him than 70 million against him, even neutralised.

That was taken by some commentators to mean that the Soviet Union was opposed to a reunification based on neutralisation, but M. Pineau has since explained that he does not support that view but that what Mr.

Khrushchev was rejecting was a unified Germany which though neutralised would in fact be hostile to Russia.

M. Pineau has, therefore, appealed for a change in Western policy on reunification.

There is no doubt that German membership of NATO precludes any hope of reunification and Churchill's speech at Aachen is being used to support the view that Germany could be unified within a new Western alliance which would include her and the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

### Katyn murders

**D**URING the World War some thousands of Polish officers, prisoners of war, were massacred at their mass graves were discovered at Katyn. The number murdered was variously estimated as from 10,000 to 15,000.

The Russians charged the Germans with this crime and the Germans charged the Russians. Although there could hardly be a clearer case of war crime than this nobody was brought to trial for it at Nuremberg.

In 1952 a Congressional Committee was set up in America to investigate the matter, but in the conditions of the cold war there was not much confidence placed in its capacity for impartiality and objectivity. We learn that now the Polish Government is making arrangements for an investigation.

Here again it would hardly seem that we can look for judicial detachment, but it raises interesting conjectures on why the Polish Government is reopening the matter at this time.

Is it seeking to provide a counterweight to the evidence submitted to the US Congressional Committee that it is the Government's view that this massacre occurred during the period of the Stalin regime it is not safe to conduct an investigation on the assumption that this is another of the crimes to be laid at Stalin's door?

### Stand-ins?

**T**O be available for the nation-wide civil defence operation that is to be staged in the Autumn, there is an organisation of "victims." These are embraced by the Casualties' Union which has 1,500 members.

More members are required, and they can attend study circles which will help them to attain a high standard of realism, short, of course, of splitting up their lungs, having their epidermis seared away, or suffering a lingering decline through radiation activity having penetrated their bones.

There are postal courses for those who cannot conveniently attend the study groups.

The Casualties' Union has branches and affiliated groups in France, Norway, Canada, Africa, and New Zealand.

We do not know whether the international character of the organisation provides a basis for the exchange of victims as required, but it might be useful if it could be extended so that it would include organised groups in the territories of the Eastern nations, as well as the West.

Indeed an international jamboree of stand-ins for "H-bomb victims" would be a suitable issue of tomato ketchup and other aids to realism—might provide the long-looked-for substance for war.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### "Issued at Balaclava"

**G**OING through Monday's post I was startled by an orange form which announced, in large black capitals "Issued at Balaclava."

I was wrong. It was not from a descendant of one of the Light Brigade.

It was a money order from Balaclava, Victoria, Australia. They read the air mail edition of Peace News there these days.

### Concentration camps

**M**ANY conscientious objectors appearing before Tribunals, writes our reporter Mavis James, fall down on the questions put to them about Belsen. They are told that whatever George Lansbury and others tried to do, the camps persisted, and only force finally put a stop to them.

Young COs can now take heart. If the Government clean up the concentration camps in Kenya, it will be through the intervention of a pacifist, Eileen Fletcher. Should they fail to stop the camps, would the Government and its Tribunals uphold the use of force in this case?

### Glenn Smiley in US South

**T**HE American non-violent revolution which is spreading rapidly in the South, is keeping the American Fellowship of Reconciliation's field secretary, Glenn Smiley, very busy.

Following the Montgomery boycott he has been setting up a whole series of study groups and workshops in non-violence in Negro colleges and churches in the South.

Now he is in Tallahassee where another boycott has started. He writes that the people in charge there are very much interested in all the literature and techniques of non-violence.

### He's President now

**I**T is good to see that George Dutch who has been so active in the pacifist and anti-conscription resolutions in the Co-operative movement, has become President of the London Co-operative Society.

"You may rest assured that I am entirely with you in spirit," he said in a recent message to the Peace Movement.

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## 'Reject violence,' say World Church heads

"CONFLICTS must be resolved by reason, not by violence," say the seven Presidents of the World Council of Churches, in a message to all member churches. "Violence has now reached such a pitch that when once unleashed it is beyond human control; and unless wars can be made to cease all nations will perish." The message was sent out at Whitsuntide, when "believers and unbelievers are everywhere asking 'What shall we do?'" "The churches," say the Presidents, "should remind the nations, with a passion greater than ever before, that the whole world cries out for peace, that they are all members of one family, and that the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the father of all."

## FORCED CONFESSIONS

Mrs. Irene White (Lab., Flint, East) in the Kenya debate in the Commons on June 6, offered new evidence that the Government is seeking to force confessions by pressure induced from their families. In the Acheng case, the Government denied this was being done. She said:

"I have in my hand a letter which has been smuggled out of Manda Island detention camp."

This letter is from one of the hard-core prisoners, as they are called, at this camp, and he writes: "We request you please to try to see that our families and relatives are not compelled to write to us requesting us to admit falsely that we have taken Mau Mau oaths in order that we may not be expelled." This is not the first time by any means that we have heard that pressure is put upon families of prisoners to urge their relatives in these prison camps to confess. I do not believe that that procedure is in the interests of justice or of good government, and I hope that if action can be taken to stop this repugnant practice, it will be taken."

## Help cottonfarmers

AMERICAN Negro cotton farmers in the South who support the Montgomery bus boycott and the ending of racial segregation and insist on their right to vote are being denied the right to have their cotton ginned. (When the cotton bolls are gathered from the fields they are taken to the gin where the seeds are separated from the cotton). American pacifists are being urged by Ammon Hennacy, in the Catholic Worker, to provide a fully equipped gin and to be ready to operate it by the autumn. "Those of us of a technical mind could perhaps produce a small gin which each farmer could use himself—an American adaptation of the Gandhian spinning wheel," he writes.

## KEPLERS REFUSE TAX

NEWSPAPERS in five towns and cities in the Far West of the USA carried reports when Roy Kepler and his wife refused to pay their taxes as a protest against war preparations. There were also many news broadcasts and a local radio interview. Roy Kepler, a former Secretary of the War Resisters' League, and his wife Patricia, said in a statement: "Being for the first time in control of our income from our own business, and so not subject to withholding (PAYE), we are able to make clear our complete disapproval of the use to which more than 80 per cent of all income tax revenue is put: for armament and military purposes." The Keplers run a book store at Menlo Park, San Francisco.

## WANTED, A LEG UP

WHILE everything else tends to go up, the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund seems to stick, and had not been for the special "in memoriam" gift received a few weeks ago, it would be in a bad way. We have never yet failed to reach our aim for the year, and if we are going to succeed again, as I am sure we shall, we must not get too far behind now. I am concerned, because although this appeal reaches over 10,000 readers each week, only comparatively few make any response to it. I wonder why, since every reader must have some interest in peacemaking and must want the world to be rid of the threat of war. That will not happen merely by reading Peace News. I know that many do help financially by a voluntary annual subscription, for which we are most grateful, but the total of these is only about 2,000. What about the others? What, perhaps, about YOU? When did you last send any money to help forward the most vital of all causes. I am sure that it is not in the least effort needed to turn a good intention to send something into the cheque or postal order. The Peace Pledge Union HQ Fund is in need of a really good leg-up this week. Will you, please, be one of those who help us to get over this sticky patch and take a big stride forward towards this year's aim?

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £538  
Aim for 1956: £1,150  
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 25, Leinster Street, London, W.C.1.

## MR. BROCKWAY PRESENTS BILL TO BAN DISCRIMINATION IN BRITAIN

REGINALD SORESENSEN, Chairman of the National Peace Council, and NPC member Leslie Hale, were among those supporting a Bill making race discrimination illegal in Britain which was presented to the House of Commons last week by Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

Other MPs whose names were on the Bill were Mr. Benn, Mr. Orbach, Miss Lee, Mr. Mikardo, Mrs. Castle, Mr. Janner, Sir L. Plummer, Mr. J. Silverman and Mr. Allam.

The Bill, Fenner Brockway told the House, would make illegal: "Discrimination to the detriment of any person on the grounds of colour, race and religion in the United Kingdom."

In his speech he said: "It is very difficult to estimate opinion on this matter. There are under-currents of feeling, it may even be in the subconscious, which will respond under favourable conditions towards, or retreat under unfavourable conditions from, racial equality. But I would say that broadly speaking the British people recognise that identity as human beings is greater than differences of race, colour or religion."

## IMMIGRANTS

"I think that has been the experience of most of us. I remember very well, one Sunday morning, joining a train for Birmingham into which immigrants from the West Indies had entered. It was the first day of snow during this year and they came in garments which were more suited to their islands."

"Nevertheless, in the whole of that long compartment the English passengers gave their places to these West Indian immigrants, and, not only did that, but spontaneously offered friendly advice, so that they could adjust themselves to our conditions."

"I would say that the towns which have employed West Indian and other coloured conductresses, and our own experience of the railway porters announcing the stations on the underground trains of London, show that the feeling of our people towards them is one of friendliness and of encouragement. But

there is a minority which is causing ill will, with serious effects."

"I recognise that there must be a limitation of the powers of legislation. Often acts of discrimination are due to prejudice, to ignorance or to irrational repulsion, and those can be removed only by education or experience."

"More often they are due to social and economic conditions and fears: to housing overcrowding, concern about the under-cutting of standards if unemployment comes. Those can be removed only by social and economic solutions."

## PERSONAL RIGHTS

"I also recognise that in seeking to establish the rights of coloured people in this country, we must not invade the personal rights of our own citizens."

"Probably the greatest effect of colour discrimination is where the private landlady refuses lodgings to a coloured person, but I would regard it as going beyond the legitimate sphere of legislation if we were to say that persons should not have the right to decide who should enter their own homes as lodgers."

The Bill would, he said, make discrimination illegal in hotels, restaurants and places of entertainment; it would operate in relation to leases covering houses, flats and premises; and make illegal the action of an employer of more than 50 persons to refuse to employ a person on the grounds of colour, race, or religion.

Fenner Brockway concluded by urging that such a measure would exert an influence in territories such as South Africa which now practice discrimination.

Leave was granted and the Bill was brought in and read a first time.

## Barbara Castle, MP, supports Eileen Fletcher

### Selections from Mrs. Castle's speech during the Kenya debate, June 6

WE must recognise that it is impossible to hope to progress towards this goal [of establishing common patriotism and citizenship in Kenya] until we have begun by establishing the status of the African as a human being.

That is why it is important today to give priority to the allegations made by Miss Eileen Fletcher and to their implications concerning the status of the African as a human being in Kenya. All the rest follows from that.

It is no good having the land consolidation or the economic progress which we freely admit, is taking place.

It is no good having constitutional reforms and no good hoping for an advance towards multi-racial government unless we clear up once and for all the question of whether we can say that in Kenya today the Administration and those who serve it are really treating the African as a human being, with the equality which should go with that.

I have not met Miss Eileen Fletcher. I have deliberately refrained from meeting her, although I have read with interest what she has written, because, as hon. Members know, I have recently been to Kenya and visited many of the camps to which she referred.

I wanted to be able to give my own first-hand experience without being accused of any kind of collusion with Miss Fletcher.

It is extraordinarily difficult for a Member of the House of Commons, when visiting Kenya in an official capacity, to have the same opportunities that Miss Eileen Fletcher had to get at the facts.

I did not go to Kenya primarily in my capacity as a Member of the House but, as everybody knows, on behalf of the Daily Mirror, thus getting rather more freedom than an official delegation would get.

### Serious anxiety

I went to the Kamiti Women's Camp, to which Miss Fletcher has referred so fully. I had had many complaints from Europeans and Africans about conditions in this camp, and I did make a fighting effort to go there, because I wanted to know more about the condition of some of the detainees.

I wanted to take with me an African lawyer—the only African lawyer in practice in Kenya today—who had a client in the camp and who had right of access.

So terrified was this camp over the coming invasion of an African lawyer and a woman Member of Parliament, three Europeans were posted at the gate for three days to keep us out if we turned up. I was told, "Everyone from the Governor downwards is trying to keep her out."

I was also told, by someone whose evidence I accept as being thoroughly reliable, that the whole staff of the Kamiti Women's Camp was called into the Commandant's office before my visit and told, "This woman is coming on some inquiry."

"You know what they are like. Keep your mouths shut. When she asks questions, answer only 'Yes' or 'No'."

This is the kind of atmosphere in which a Member of Parliament has to try to establish the truth, and it is a stupid waste of time, because even on official figures there is enough evidence available to give us cause for serious anxiety about the atmosphere in which some of these camps are run.

When I finally went in, accompanied by my

African lawyer, I was forcibly separated from him at the gate. He was shown into one room while I was taken into the official's room and saw the official's separately.

I put certain questions and I received the official answers, and the official answers themselves corroborated a great deal of what Miss Fletcher has written.

We in this Committee ask for an independent inquiry.

If we have not official information the right hon. Gentleman cannot complain if we have to come to him with hearsay information, even that given us by officials, who take their jobs in their hand to come to see us privately.

They do that because they say, "Do not phone the camp because every telephone is tapped, and they are spying."

As has been said from the Opposition Front Bench today already, what we ask for is an independent inquiry, sent from this country, into the running of the camps, into the operation of the emergency powers, into the use of detention orders, into the treatment of detainees.

If that body of inquiry, with the full authority of this Committee behind it, with full powers to see people privately, even to command them to appear to give evidence were sent out, we might be able to establish the facts.

I asked about the children in the camp. I was told frankly by the officials that there had been an alarmingly high death rate of children of three years of age and under.

From January to October last year, among the 400 children of three years and under in the camp, the deaths averaged 20 a month. They told me they agreed it was a shocking figure. I want to give them full credit for that.

They also pointed out that by October the figure had started to drop and was down to six, and they hoped it would go lower.

### A doctor who cured

In the private talk with the prison officials to which I have already referred, I asked what was the explanation for the high death rate at the beginning of the year and of its having dropped. I was told, quite simply, "Now there is a doctor in the camp who really cares."

The doctor had begun to demand medicines and proper diet. Somebody came along who cared. There are many officials in Kenya who do care.

I met a number of them—such as probation officers, and that wonderful woman, the Red Cross worker, Miss Priest, with whom I went round the villages.

These are devoted people—dedicated workers. We cannot pay too high a tribute to those individuals, but it is not wrong that the fate of thousands of human beings should depend on the accident of a person's getting into the right

## Walking to aid Indian peasants

HALLAM TENNYSON, great grandson of the poet, paused in his walking tour round the English countryside to address a meeting organised by the Society of Friends at Derby recently on "the great challenge facing us in this second half of the Twentieth century."

In this country and in the prosperous West, he said, we had come to accept responsibility for our under-privileged citizens, to provide them with proper opportunities and a proper economic stability.

"But now a much graver challenge faces," he asserted. "The prosperous nations must accept partnership and co-operation with the rest of the world."

It was vital for us to help the poorer countries to help themselves and he referred particularly to India. For nearly three years he and his wife, a trained social worker, had been in charge of a rural development programme in that country.

They learned to appreciate a "most precious" fact, the true quality of the Indian peasant. Mr. Tennyson said that in India a voluntary movement from the people themselves—as well as aid from outside—was needed to combat the widespread poverty.

One such voluntary movement was that started by Vinoba Bhave, a follower of Gandhi. He had persuaded landowners to give, up to now, 41 million acres of land to the peasants.

As Vinoba Bhave has done in India, Mr. Tennyson is walking round the English countryside addressing meetings whenever possible in towns and villages.

He has no money with him for the tour, but does odd jobs on the way. "I want to spread the news of this voluntary land reform," he explained, "and to draw attention to the movement for building wells."

Another reason is that 35-year-old Mr. Tennyson wants to learn more about his own country. He considers that walking around, relying to a large extent on chance and hospitality is the best way to do it.

job, when things have been so bad for so long?

I would confirm again what Miss Eileen Fletcher said about the living conditions in the camp. They are bad . . .

It cannot be denied, because it is revealed in the Annual Report of the Prisons Department. I have a copy here. The Colonial Secretary knows as well as I do what is in it. It says:

"Prisons face heavy task of improvement," that prisoners have been sleeping in tents and aluminium huts to relieve overcrowding. It admits that

"overcrowding continued throughout the year."

Incidentally, in this Report is full corroboration of what [Fenner Brockway] . . . said about the use of leg-irons. It says:

"Leg-irons were used as a means of restraint in 2,832 cases."

Here is something else that the Report says:

"The general lowering of recruiting standards made necessary by increasing difficulty in obtaining recruits, and the urgency of the situation, inevitably resulted in warders having to be posted to stations with inadequate training."

I was told that there is no real prison service in Kenya in the British sense of the term.

I went to Mwea to see the development scheme which is being carried out there to settle Africans on 40,000 acres where it is hoped to grow rice. The canals are being dug by 1,800 detainees from two nearby camps.

### Annihilation camps

Is there not a tremendous bias in favour of keeping these detainees in detention until that work is done? What difference is there between that and the Russian labour camps? These people are political prisoners. I could not help being struck by the final paragraph in the Observer article on the Russian camps which said that

"certain groups of prisoners regarded as specially dangerous were detained in special isolation camps" which the writers called

"annihilation camps."

What else is Manda Island, to which the "irreconcilables" in Kenya are sent?

For all we know, it may be an annihilation camp. It is an isolated camp, surrounded by swamps from which I was told, these "black irreconcilables" can not escape because they would be eaten up by crocodiles.

Has any hon. Member been to that camp? There are camps in Kenya into which the Nairobi Press is not admitted.

Is it not time that an independent body of inquiry from this country visited them?

Are we satisfied that this is all that we can do about the situation in Kenya? Is this all that we can do about the so-called irreconcilables? Are we going to adopt the Russian method of keeping the hard-core irreconcilables in isolated camps indefinitely?

The emergency is at an end and we now must have a positive, constructive attitude for the future. We must substitute government by consent for government by control.

We must have a new feeling for the future. When we on this side of the Committee express anxiety we are not expressing prejudice, but the belief that there is a new opportunity in Kenya which will come to fruition only if we have the courage to act with vision and give expression to the kernel of multi-racialism, which must be government by consent and the recognition that the Africans are human beings with fundamental human rights as people.



## BOOKS

## Ethel Mannin's new novel

Reviewed by Esme Wynne-Tyson

The Living Lotus, by Ethel Mannin, Jarrolds, London, 15s.

NOTHING could be better timed than the publication in 1956—the year in which the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddhist faith is being celebrated all over the world—of this delightful novel of Burma, and the Burmese, who are said to practice the purest form of Buddhism.

An eye-witness account of the lives led by the followers of this pacific creed must necessarily be of great interest to all who work for peace.

But in spite of the gentle, happy and peaceful natures of most of the villagers described—a disposition that makes the young Anglo-Burmese heroine (a beautifully drawn character) prefer the way of the Buddha to that of the not-so-gentle Jesus, if he is to be judged by the policies of Christendom—there are certain disillusioning aspects about these worshippers of the Enlightened One who made Thou Shalt Not Kill Anything his first commandment, and Thou Shalt Not Lie his sixth.

For although Miss Mannin's Burmese do not eat meat, they are ready enough to consume fish or poultry that has been killed by someone else!

They will, apparently, lie flatly for their friends in what they conceive to be a good cause, suffering from the delusion fostered in the West by the totalitarians of Church and State that good ends may be obtained from evil means.

A delusion which was rather unnaturally shared by the heroine's C of E pukka sahib, English father, who told a deliberate and cruel lie in order to get his daughter to England.

Christopher Finching is the least satisfactory character in the book. Men of his type and period avoided telling blatant lies (unless they were in the "Intelligence" Service); not from any deeply religious or moral motive, but simply because their particular brand of self-respect could not endure the shame of exposure. To lie was just one of those things that were not done; although perhaps his internment in a Japanese concentration camp might be ad-

vanced as a reason of such a lowering of morale.

This lack of any ethical absolute pervades the book and is a rather depressing sign of the times.

It is, however, a fascinating study of a delightful people, and in the first and by far the better part, where Ethel Mannin writes like the poet she promised to be in her late teens, the descriptions of the festivals, the flower-gatherings and the glittering pagodas in this land of brightness and colour are pure enchantment.

## Quaker ambassadors

By Olwen Battersby

From Where They Sit, by Dorothy Hutchinson. Pendle Hill Pamphlet, 35 cents or 2s. 11d.

FROM WHERE THEY SIT is one of those exciting stories of contact across barriers for which Quakers have become noted.

Setting out on a three-month air journey, this inter-racial team of two—the author, Dorothy Hutchinson of the Abington (US) Monthly Meeting of Friends, and her companion Hazel de Bois, a brilliant young Negro girl—dropped out of the clouds to visit some sixteen family groups, living with each for a few days—then moving on.

Friends were made in France and Germany, in Israel and the Arab States, in Pakistan and India.

Visits included Christian Protestant homes in the Netherlands and Germany, Christian Catholic homes in the Philippines, Muslim homes in the Arab States and Pakistan, Jewish homes in Israel, Hindu homes in India and Buddhist homes in Thailand.

They learnt much. They saw how the little people of the world trembled before the might of the United States; they looked into the sad aged face of a starved baby, more moving than statistics involving millions such.

They came to realise the truth of the statement made by Pakistan's delegate to the United Nations who said, "If you offer a hungry man the four freedoms in one hand, and four sandwiches in the other, he will choose the sandwiches."

They came home with the feeling that nations and peoples were trapped—caught in a vicious downward spiral:

MORE arms and therefore less economic aid. LESS economic aid and therefore more human misery.

MORE human misery and therefore more political subversion.

MORE political subversion and therefore less confidence.

So still more arms and still less economic aid, ETC. . . .

The author concludes:

"But we are not even struggling to escape. We are apathetic because we have lost hope. When shall we realise how thin are the partitions between us?"

"Shall we discover in time that he who but presses on one of them can push his hand right through. And, on the other side his hand finds the hand of someone else—where he sits groping in the dark and afraid to hope."

## Letters to the Editor

## Violence in films

BRIGHTON Friends Peace Committee (Quakers) are concerned about the amount of unnecessary violence in films, particularly in those with "U" certificates.

When "The Dam Busters" and "Richard III" were recently shown in this town parties of school children were officially taken to see them on the grounds that the former was history and the latter both history and Shakespeare. Protests that the films were unsuitable for children of tender years were overruled. We have also had a recent case where a particularly war-like film, dealing with the current troubles in Malaya, was not billed but was shown in the same programme as a definitely children's film, "Heidi," during the school half-term holiday.

Watch Committees have power to regrade films as well as to refuse permission for exhibition. In practice we understand Watch Committees view only those films where there is a doubt whether exhibition should be allowed at all and the unsuitably graded "U" film may slip through and be exhibited before anyone outside the trade knows what it is really like. The difficulty is to get advance knowledge of such films.

It seems to us that this is a problem which should be of wide concern. If warning could be given of unsuitably graded films or films containing unnecessary violence local groups might be able to call the attention of their local Watch Committees to the matter so that at any rate the film is properly considered by that body.

We should be glad to hear from anyone who in his normal course of business attends the ordinary trade showings prior to release or from anyone else who has any constructive suggestions to make.

ALAN STALEY.

39 St. Keyna Avenue, Hove 3, Sussex.

## Collective pacifism

EVIDENTLY I did not make matters clear in my speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, particularly to the Peace News reporter who wrote " . . . (did not find) wide support for their view that members were in error when they dispersed their energies in other worthy causes such as the abolition of capital punishment . . ."

I would not expect to find wide support for that view; I do not hold that view myself. My concern is not with the activities of individual members but with the organisation called the Peace Pledge Union.

Individual pacifists must, of course, work in other fields, and their attitudes to the problems they find are often more realistic because they are pacifists.

But, whether their interests are vegetarianism or vivisection, War on Want or X, Y, Z, they should not expect or want the PPU to do anything but campaign for the abandonment of war. It's a big enough job, heaven knows.

The PPU is a body of people who have one thing in common. Its members have all pledged themselves, individually, to "renounce war and never support or sanction another."

Believing that corporate action is more effective, they have created an organisation to make this pacifist witness more widely known, and to encourage others to make the same pledge. This organisation must become a separate entity, but responsible to its members to the extent to which they have committed themselves to the organisation.

If we wish the Union to widen its scope, then the members must broaden their own commitment to the Union and, incidentally, to each other.

Arlo Tatum has reminded us that the War Resisters' International declaration asks its sections to "strive for the removal of the causes of war." I can only say that it is a pity that such a vital movement as the WRI should

have such an ambiguous declaration. Wilfred Wellock states with great clarity that "War and armaments will continue so long as there are evils which people fear more than they fear war." Precisely; and when a person comes to believe that the greatest evil is war then he becomes a pacifist.

This message must be that in no circumstances can the method of war be justified, and it must be the message too of the PPU. The work of the Union should be to supply the evidence to support the message.

Finally, with regard to capital punishment, I appear to have given the impression that individual pacifists should not work to secure its abolition.

Those who received this impression will doubtless be glad to learn that it is false. My doubtless be glad to learn that it is false. My reference to capital punishment at the AGM was to say that in this cause pacifists have well and truly got their eye on the ball.

They advocate the abolition of a method of dealing with a particular situation, regardless of the causes giving rise to that situation. We ought to be able to say we are doing the same thing about the method of war.

DOUGLAS CLARK.

6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## Kenya

THE people of Kenya are indeed grateful to Eileen Fletcher for the courage she has shown in exposing conditions in Kenya.

What Miss Fletcher has described has been happening far too long, and the exposure of this brutality has been made with a constructive purpose. I, therefore, appeal to everyone to see that the pamphlet "Truth About Kenya" is widely distributed, that protests are made to MPs and the Colonial Office, and that the standards of justice and human decency which operate in Britain are maintained in Kenya.

About 42,000 Kikuyu, Meru, and Embu tribesmen languish in detention under the conditions. They have never been tried in a court of justice. Practically the whole Kikuyu, Meru, and Embu tribes, numbering some 1,200,000 have been concentrated in villages. This has entailed forced evictions without compensation for loss of property. Some 16,000 Africans have been killed by the Security forces and over 1,000 hanged, only one-fifth for murder.

Such acts are the outcome of the abuse of power. Thomas Paine once said that "an avidity to punish is always dangerous to liberty. It leads men to stretch, to misinterpret and to misapply even the best laws." The policy of the Kenya Government and the settlers, one might say, is the "deliberate de-humanisation" of the Kikuyu.

JOSEPH MURUMBI.

Movement for Colonial Freedom, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

## Money for peace

A WAY of reducing the proportion of our income which goes to war preparation and diverting it into constructive channels is by means of a covenanted subscription scheme. Such organisations as the International Voluntary Service for Peace, 19 Penbridge Villas, London, W.11, and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, 19 Broad St., Oxford, have such schemes, whereby some of one's Income Tax can be reclaimed for the society in proportion to the amount donated.

This is one sure way of ensuring that less of one's income goes towards war preparation.

JAN WARNER.

38 Trefusis Road, Redruth, Cornwall.

The Indian Red Cross Society has invited Red Cross Societies of 85 countries to send delegates to the 19th Session of International Red Cross Conference to be held in Delhi early next year. This is the first time that the Conference will be meeting in India.

## A child's life of Gandhi

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

He begins as a barrister

Last week we read how Gandhi, a lad of nineteen, feeling very shy and strange in a white European suit of clothes, landed in England where he had come to study law. While in England he met other Indian students, and learned to live on very little money as they did.

At last the three years of study came to an end, and Gandhi was free to return home. The voyage home to India was very stormy and nearly everybody on board was sea-sick, except Gandhi.

In the ship's dining room only two or three people came to the table at mealtimes. They sat holding their plates in their laps, for that was the only way they could get food safely to their lips, as the ship was tossed this way and that by the wind.

Gandhi was longing to see his dear mother again. But when he arrived he heard the sad news that she had died while he was in England. His elder brother had kept back the news, not wishing to tell him such a sad thing while he was away in a foreign land among strangers.

Since it was necessary for Gandhi to start earning as soon as possible, it was decided that he should go to Bombay to practise there as a barrister. He was to go alone at first and set up a household on his own until he had found some good clients.

He engaged a cook to look after him, but unfortunately the fellow was very stupid and dirty. He did not even trouble to wash his own clothes, much less do his work in the kitchen properly.

Poor Gandhi was too kind to scold him. Instead he tried to teach him how to look after the house. But the cook was very lazy and merely watched while Gandhi did almost all the work.

In the meantime no clients turned up and so Gandhi earned no money at all. After six months of this life, he returned home to Rajkot, quite tired and disappointed.

It was good to be with the family again, of course, but it was disappointing to have to tell them how things had gone with him in Bombay. They had expected him to be of so much help to them after completing his studies in England, and so far he had been able to do nothing.

FOR a while things went very slowly in Rajkot, too. Gandhi earned only a very little money now and then. He had begun sadly to feel that he was not going to be a success in life.

Little did he think that one day the world would ring with his name, and that after his death people would scrape up, as a precious relic, the dust trodden by his feet.

It was just when he was feeling so downcast that a firm of Indian merchants from Porbander, who had settled in South Africa, sent for him to come and take charge of some important law business for them in Durban,

a South African sea-port. They wrote that they would want his services for about a year.

They were not going to pay him badly either, and the idea of further travel pleased Gandhi so he accepted the offer. If he was not going to be a successful barrister he might at least see a little more of the world, he thought.

It was sad, of course, to leave Kasturba again, and they had two little baby boys of whom Gandhi was very fond. But he would be back again in a year, and that thought consoled them.

NEXT WEEK: Off to South Africa.

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# THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POSITION

—By Kathleen Lonsdale, DBE,FRS—

**T**HE Christian pacifist position is essentially an individual one and so it is necessary to make clear in that sense the Christian background in which I state my pacifism.

I accept William Penn's definition that "to be a Christian is to be like Christ"; to take for granted that goodness is the most powerful force in the world; and that God is good. I believe that Jesus has, by his teaching, life and suffering, shown us what God is like and what he requires of us.

We are not puppets. We have a knowledge of good and evil; if we choose evil, that is sin; and sin leads to suffering.

There is also natural suffering, which we don't understand; but we do realise that some suffering, voluntarily accepted because of our love of the sinner, may be redemptive, as was that of Jesus Christ.

Now I have said that we have a knowledge of good and evil. But it is not easy. It seems clear enough when we are children. It is wrong to hurt other people, or animals; right to do what one is told. Right to tell the truth; wrong to tell a lie.

When you get older it is less clear-cut. Suppose you hurt other people by telling the truth? Is it not then good to lie? Suppose we can only save others—their lives, minds or souls—by hurting someone. Should we not do so?

Suppose we are told to do wrong? Must we not disobey? Is there any absolute moral standard? Ought we not to use our commonsense? Reason is a God-given gift.

Yet looking at the saints and martyrs (and I use these words in their widest sense), do we not realise that men have done crazy things for the love of God and their fellowmen, and were most truly wise?

Yes; certainly reason must be used, but in the wider context of the love and goodness of God and with a constant prayer for God's guidance. So often, when we talk of "common-sense" we leave God out of account, and behave just as we would have done if we had not believed in him.

We ignore the power of goodness, truth, love, justice, mercy.

God in on their side, to pour down fire from Heaven on a village that had insulted and rejected him, he told them that they did not know what evil spirit possessed them.

When he himself was faced by a violent maniac, who broke all chains with which he was bound, his own courage, understanding and goodness drove the evil spirit out; and however much we may think that the trappings and embroidery of superstition may have surrounded that story, yet it holds certainly the grain of truth.

And Jesus told his disciples there was nothing he did which they could not do.

But when Jesus was faced by evil and unjust powers who were not influenced by his transparent goodness and by his non-violent methods, he died. It must have caused great suffering to his mother; he could not help that.

Suppose he had done what Judas wanted him to do—used force to overthrow the power of Rome and its puppet regime in Palestine? Would that have been better?

No—not even from the commonsense point of view, because force perpetuates itself; it breeds aggression, and it perverts the moral sense of those who use it.

Spies and secret agents are wrong, we say, if other people use them; right and necessary if we use them ourselves.

You must not murder in private life; you may not even carry firearms with which to defend yourself against a sudden homicidal attack; but you must murder on an enormous scale, if ordered to do so by the Government.

Mercy is a quality you must not exercise, if sent out to use tactical weapons on boys of eighteen.

It seems to me that this makes a mockery of Christian profession. It is no excuse to say "In our country this only happens in wartime; in Communist and Nazi countries young people are taught this as a doctrine." Of what use are ideals, if you put them on one side when they seem inconvenient?

I believe you destroy them that way. They cannot be put into cold storage.

## The alternative

And what is the alternative if you are attacked? Will you—as the Chinese told us in an old proverb—"Retreat 30 miles and then stop"? If men walk over you, do you lie down like a doormat? Must criminals go on undeterred and freedom be undefended and lost? No, of course not.

What is axiomatic to the Christian is this: that evil means cannot be used for good ends. Widows were oppressed in Jesus' time and he publicly castigated those who oppressed them. But murder would not have eliminated injustice.

Non-violence towards aggression may mean an alien Government. But the fact of an alien Government need compel no one to co-operate in wrong-doing. One may have to suffer for not doing so.

Freedom to worship according to conscience was preserved three hundred years ago by willingness to be imprisoned, to be tortured, to die rather than give freedom away—but not to kill, or to hate, or to lie; that corrupts ideals; it does not preserve them.

Non-violence cannot prevent suffering. Christianity is not an insurance policy.

But, in any case, having realised that nuclear war would be suicidal, we are not giving sufficient thought to alternative means of

opposing evil. The Christian Church is not doing its duty in this respect.

There are experiments in non-violent non-co-operation going on; and even these have their moral dangers. But not nearly enough is being done in active experiments in redemptive methods.

## War preparation

**3** Is it right to have war preparations, including Civil Defence?

One of the reasons is that almost all our efforts are going into war preparations, which are considered necessary in the present state of the world. We think we have only the choice of two evils—either to be prepared to use violence on the one hand, or prepared to see violence used on the other.

The real choice is between using men, materials and money in preparation against what may never happen, or using the same men, materials and money in alleviating present suffering and want.

Every pound spent on war preparation condemns some child in a country for which we are responsible to die of malnutrition. There are one million people blind from preventable disease in countries over which our Government has control.

Why cannot we Christians see that it would be not only Christian but sensible—and is there any difference, in a world in which Goodness is all-powerful?—to divert the tremendous resources used for war preparation (including Civil Defence) into constructive channels?

William Penn said: "Force may compel, but love gains." A decent concern for the well-being of the people governed by us is the best way of gaining friends.

Money spent on armaments makes a mockery of our professed concern for those who are suffering. By wasting our substance on what we hope may never happen, we ignore the suffering we might relieve.

We are "taking thought for the morrow," and ignoring the command to "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness."

We must, however, be quite clear about one thing. It would not be possible to give up war preparations without changing our foreign policy. Presumably Cyprus would be no longer a problem to us, since we should not need it as a military base.

But it would be impossible without the sanction of force to maintain our own standards of living as they are, at least ten or twenty times higher than that of most of our fellowmen; and it is improbable that the world's resources would be sufficient to bring them up to our level, even given time.

"Sell all that you have and give to the poor and come and follow me" said Jesus to the rich young ruler, whose life was exemplary in other respects. Has that no lesson for the Christian?

What of Civil Defence?—The same condemnation applies. It absorbs money, time and energy that would be better spent in other ways of serving our fellowmen.

But, more than that, it is pure deception; it openly assumes a scale of destruction which is certainly less than that which is known to be likely in a nuclear war.

There is no reason whatever to assume that an enemy attacked with tactical weapons, hideous as these are, will not retaliate with all that he has.



It seems to me that a belief that war can be limited once all nations have nuclear power stations and can make nuclear weapons is pure self-deception; it is wishful thinking.

The trouble is that it is possible by the use of words to deceive ourselves. We transfer "tactical" to "conventional" and think it not quite as bad; or we stop talking of "mass destruction" and call them "special purpose" weapons.

Surely the best Civil Defence from the commonsense point of view would be the complete abolition of militarism—unilateral it need be.

We might begin with the abolition of conscription in this country and the setting up of an International Voluntary Service, which would provide young people with training, jobs and transport, on a Government scale, whereby young doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers, could go anywhere in the world where the need was greatest, to serve their fellowmen, using all the resources of the Press and the radio to popularise the scheme, and make young people acquainted with the opportunities available.

Many students would do that willingly; most of them do not do "National Service" willingly. We should educate children to regard war as obsolete. We cannot do that while we have "National Service." They should be learning that war is a hideous anachronism.

## Deterrence

**4** What about the theory of deterrence through strength?

But let us come back to the earth. In actual fact, Israel and the Arab states are ready to fly at one another at any moment. Even our truce with the Soviet Union is somewhat uneasy still.

Aren't we justified, even as Christians, in making hydrogen bombs for deterrent purposes only? Is it not true that they have actually had a deterrent effect? I believe that may be so.

But the fact that naughty children may refrain from outward devilment through fear of punishment, does not make that method either right or permanently effective. Threats are wrong because they are inconsistent with a loving concern for the wrong-doer.

The very theory of "Deterrence through Strength" assumes a reasonableness on the part of the opponent which should promote discussion instead. If we really believed in "Deterrence through Strength" then by giving both sides all the weapons they want (including a few hydrogen bombs each) the problem of the Israeli-Arab situation could be solved.

We don't attempt to solve it this way because we know that weapons are not really a deterrent. They do not eliminate the causes of war.

## The individual

**5** What should be the attitude of an individual, given the situation as it is?

But what is an individual to do given the situation as it is? He can and must spend what strength he has in trying to persuade his fellowmen to trust in good and not in evil methods.

He must try to persuade them that the art of negotiation is to make it easy for an opponent to be reasonable, not to humiliate or irritate him. An individual can make what attempts at reconciliation are possible to him, especially by personal service.

He can certainly act in such a way that his fellowmen can see that Christian principles pervade his whole life. But he must realise the only person over whose actions he has entire control is himself.

He must then refuse, as an individual, to do that which he believes to be evil. He need not be troubled about scruples with regard to democracy, because democracy has nothing to do with war.

War is not a democratic way of settling disputes. Whether it is called a "police" action or not, war only involves determining who is the strongest, not who is right.

If his country were occupied, the individual pacifist should not violently oppose, but would have to accept the alien Government, though not to co-operate in any wrong-doing; and he would have to be prepared to suffer to preserve freedom.

He should willingly co-operate with others who also believe that evil can only be overcome by good. But if he cannot persuade others to take the same stand then, God helping him, he must stand alone.

I propose to deal with five practical problems:

**1** Is it right to use the methods of war to repel aggression, and if so, how far? This usually applies to international war.

Men sometimes speak of a "limited war," a "human war." Is there any point at which we can draw the line between that and an all-out nuclear war?

Ideas are continually changing. There was a time when hand-to-hand fighting was approved; but Pliny disapproved of the use of arrows. That was not playing the game.

Nobel believed that his discovery of dynamite would end war, because it would become too terrible. Then we were, in the first World War, horrified at war from the air, because it brought war to everybody.

But it came to be accepted as legitimate because everybody, in a sense, lived near a military target, and that was just too bad.

This has been followed by obliteration by bombing, rockets, and now tactical atomic weapons.

I must admit that I find it curious to think of the reasons for which people continually shift their ground.

One finds that many people object to hydrogen bombs because they are suicidal, and presumably they think suicide is worse than murder; or because it is more wrong to kill unborn children than to kill live ones; is it?

## Conditioned men

Is it more wrong to kill 7 million than 70,000 or 70? Of course, from every point of view, modern weapons are terrible, but can we justify weapons which are tactical or conventional because they are used against troop concentrations?

What are troop concentrations? They consist mostly of young conscript boys of 17-19 years of age. Those of us who have sons, or know students of that age, know them to be immature.

Let us not salve our consciences on the ground that British law permits conscientious objection. Most of our young people of that age are already bewildered or confused by conditioning.

We have conditioned them. We have discouraged the moral scruples they might have had. Even most of those who are conscientious objectors cannot formulate their thoughts very clearly and cannot express them, when given the chance, to a Tribunal of elderly men. Besides, not every country has provision for conscientious objection, and these other men, on whom we propose to use tactical weapons, have had no real choice.

They have either been conditioned not to have scruples or convinced—and this is more often the case—of the rightness of their own cause.

To use conditioned men as pawns is to commit the sin of which we accuse the Communists. All men are God's children, but we treat them as expendable things.

As long as war is regarded as right for any cause whatever, any demagogue—such as Hitler—can work men up into believing that they have such a cause; that they ought to have a "place in the sun"; that war is the only way to remedy the injustice of their having been treated as Europe's criminals; or, that it is necessary to prevent others from attacking them.

## War and injustice

**2** Is it right to use war methods to prevent injustice? That may mean civil war. Is it right to use aggression for the freeing of slaves, or for the overthrowing of some ideological regime?

Is war, from a Christian point of view, a justifiable way of remedying or preventing injustice or of righting wrongs? Are the Cyriots justified in their present actions if they really believe they have a valid cause? Archbishop Makarios thinks so.

Is revolution justified if the Government is overthrown is oppressive or corrupt?

In Thailand, for instance, only half the members of Parliament are elected; the other half are nominated by the Crown, that is, by the military party; and there is certainly much corruption. Would those citizens who believe in a real democracy be justified in overthrowing the present Government by force?

Or take the case of Formosa. Would the People's Republic of China, firmly believing that this to be part of her territory, believing that the ordinary people of Formosa would welcome unity with the mainland, believing that the Chiang Kai-shek clique, as they call it, is only kept in power by force—would they be justified in resorting to force?

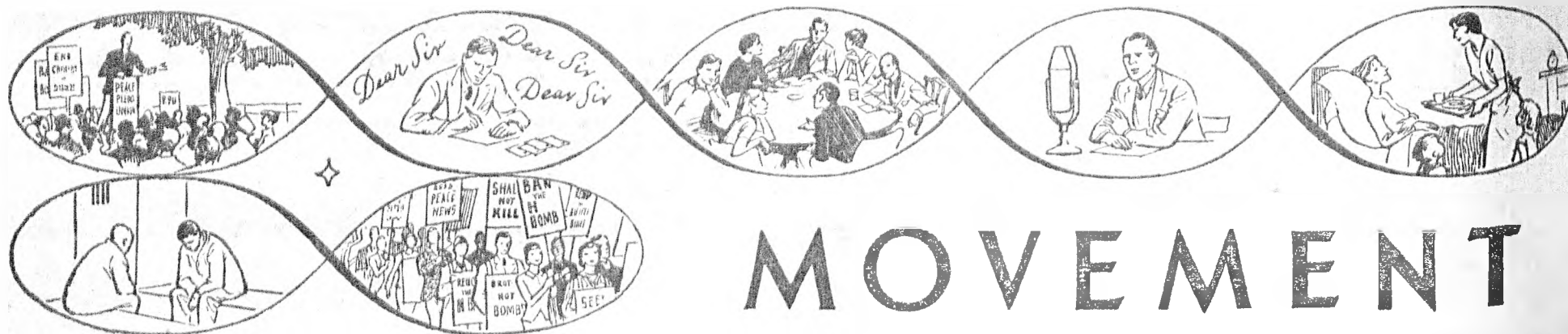
The answer to all these, if they had a real chance of success is "Yes," if you think that force is a right means of settling disputes.

The answer is "No," if you follow Christ's teaching and example.

War, whether offensive or defensive, for the purpose of righting wrongs or of repelling aggression, is the negation of all Christian principles, because it involves the exact opposite of what Christ taught: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that spitefully use you."

Can this be reconciled with "Bomb them, blast them, burn them, irradiate them so that cancer eats into their blood and bone?" Jesus told his disciples to behave as lambs among wolves. When they wanted to bring





# MOVEMENT

## A Peace News survey of organisations A RABBI ADVOCATES PACIFIST ACTION

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

AN audience which packed the banquetting room of Brighton's Royal Pavilion to the doors recently heard several ministers of different religions denounce all forms of atomic warfare.

The platform consisted of the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell; the Rev. W. A. Smith, rector of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Brighton; the Rev. Emrys Walters, minister of the Dials Congregational Church and Secretary of Brighton Free Church Council; and the Rev. I. N. Fabricant, Rabbi of Brighton Synagogue.

The meeting was called by the Brighton and Hove branch of the United Nations Association.

Opening the meeting, the Chairman declared that the hydrogen bomb was the greatest problem in the world, and if it is not solved no other problem will continue to exist.

Dr. Bell did not agree that the H-bomb is necessarily a deterrent. He made the following suggestions: 1. the Government should undertake never to initiate the use of hydrogen and atomic bombs against centres of population; 2. we should bring tests to an end; and 3. we should cease to manufacture these bombs.

"I believe," he said, "that hydrogen and atomic bombs used against centres of population are morally indefensible. I believe we, as citizens, should bend all our powers to see that they and their like are never used. I believe that our own country should cease manufacturing them and should stop the tests."

He did not agree, however, that this country should abandon its bombs altogether in advance of proof of similar action by other possible possessors.

Father Smith read at length recent statements about the hydrogen bomb from Cardinal Griffin and the Pope. To this correspondent at least, it seemed that the Holy Father now regarded a war in which the hydrogen bomb

might be used as no longer capable of falling within the definition of a "just war" but during questions it appeared that Father Smith did not agree and contended that it was always right to resist an aggressor.

The Rev. Emrys Walters called attention to the benefits which nuclear energy rightly used might bestow upon mankind. He asked that the church should declare a new crusade to save mankind from total destruction.

He also called for the progressive reduction of conventional armaments and for the employment of the resources so released to help the under-privileged peoples of the world.

It was, however, left to Rabbi Fabricant to give a really rousing call to action upon pacifist lines and it was clear from the applause that he had most of the audience with him.

## CHURCHES SHOULD HELP AND GUIDE COS

FROM ERNEST JONES

"YOUNG men in our churches who take up the pacifist position get very little support from us as leaders and members generally, and indeed it is often within the churches that they get most derision."

This was said by the Rev. Elias Hughes at a public meeting arranged by the Blaenau Ffestiniog Free Churches Council to call for the abolition of military conscription.

"Obviously," said Mr. Hughes, "we cannot attempt to persuade our young men to be conscientious objectors, but we should at least guide them and be at hand to help them." Mr. Hughes advocated the forming of a peace group in every church.

A resolution calling for conscription to be abolished was passed unanimously. The principal speaker was the Rev. J. H. Griffiths, Denbigh, an eminent Welsh pacifist. The tragedy of these days, he said, was that people were so apathetic about all matters. Apathy was the main reason why military conscription was allowed in peace time in a country in which it was utterly alien to the traditional way of life. The military leaders and the Government could not keep conscription on the statute book a day longer than when churchgoers and others decided to shun themselves out of their inertia.

## ALTERNATIVE TO KILLING

"WHAT a welcome they (young men) would receive, carrying not the weapons to destroy their brother but tools to construct a new earth. The Sahara is surely a foe worthy of the fighting character and struggling nature of all young men. It is small wonder that most men will never talk about their war experiences for they are best quickly forgotten; but what a joy and lasting memory for a man to remember in the years to come that he and his company planted the trees that stemmed the advance of the desert. In its place he would be leaving myriads of young trees, green pastures and life-giving vegetation..."

"Modern warfare demands vast expenditures, endless streams of material and great organising ability, all to achieve destruction and to reap long-smouldering resentment and hatred. A campaign against the deserts on all counts would cost less, and the harvest would be an earth of fair beauty, land of rich production and hearts filled with loving gratitude."

"While man fights man, the real enemy, the desert, advances unchecked. Let man unite with man, as brothers all, and together they will throw back their common foe and reclothe the earth in a mantle of green peace."—Spring number of "Trees, the Journal of the Men of the Trees."

## IS THERE AN IDEA HERE FOR YOU?

Peace News Reporter

HENRY FRANCIES of Loughton, Essex, associates everything in his life with his efforts to work for peace. He never lets an opportunity pass him by. Whether he digs his garden, buys sweets for the children, or takes a bus-ride, Peace News features in the event.

In this way he has increased local readership from 14 to one hundred, of which only twenty per cent are pacifists. His readers include Toc H members, people from the local Arts Society, Communists, members of the Women's Co-op Guild and of the Labour Party, six clergymen and ministers, some shopkeepers, and fourteen school teachers.

He says sometimes it is useful to make a "mistake." Whilst away on holiday, some years ago, his deputy delivered three weeks' issues of Peace News inadvertently to a Number 23 instead of Number 33. Later, when he called to explain the error, he found he had gained a new reader who is now a regular subscriber.



HENRY FRANCIES

Whilst digging a new piece of field, recently taken over as part of his garden, he "found a piece of iron which may have been part of an incendiary bomb, a relic of 1940-43." To make sure that it was safe he says, "I wrapped it in a copy of PN and handed it over locally to the Police. The paper was carefully spread on the counter, and, I hope, read."

Several readers leave copies of the paper in trains, but rarely do they see the result. Once, Henry Francies saw a young couple pick up Peace News and become interested in it. He got into conversation with them about PN, and told them to see their local newsagent after studying the paper.

Similarly, he has a regular reader on a Green Line coach—a driver, who passes on pamphlets to his mates.

### A BOY OF 52!

Another acquaintance, a London Passenger Transport Board conductor, who is chatty and very popular with his passengers, regularly receives back-numbers of the paper from Henry Francies.

This Sales Dynamo is a great boy—that's

### LETTERS TO OTHER EDITORS

ONE of the best mediums for airing a viewpoint is in the Letters to the Editor column. Letters from overseas on world problems are especially popular with most editors.

Remember to keep your letters short, to put sufficient postage on your envelopes (if you do not use a 6d. or 10 cent air letter form), and to give your name and address.

Our first batch of addresses appear below. More will appear in the next "Movement Report."

Adelong and Tumut Express, Wynyard St., Adelaide, Cape Province, South Africa.

Northern Rhodesian Advertiser, P.O. Box 208, Ndola, Rhodesia.

Adelong and Tumut Express, Wynyard St., Tumut, New South Wales, Australia.

Guardian, 117 Burnett St., Ashburton, New Zealand.

Anaxaritos, L.M. Tsimillis, 19 Pygmalion St., Nicosia, Cyprus.

Advance, Competent Publishing and Printing Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 436, 6 Barrack St., Cape Town, South Africa.

Umtali Post, P.O. Box 96 Main St., Umtali, Southern Rhodesia.

Blackwood Times, S.W. Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Bunbury, West Australia.

### Looking ahead

THE soldier who has become a CO (PN June 8), now writes to PN, "For the moment, except in my own unit, there is little else I can do; however, next year I hope to proceed to Oxford with the ultimate intention of training for the Anglican Ministry."

Please be assured when those days come of my interest and co-operation in your magnificent work, and of my practical assistance in any way you may consider fit."

### PACIFIST BULLET

JACK NEWMARK, one of the original signatories to Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge, has been awarded a £6-plus-camera prize by the British weekly, John Bull, for the "Bulletin": "Work Of Humanity—Abolishing Slavery To Armaments."

what one old reader calls him—"Boy." Says Henry Francies, "I am only 52."

At his office, he always keeps a copy of the paper in his desk. Whenever a controversial subject arises in the course of conversation, he refers to Peace News, and arouses interest that way.

For many years a copy has been given to the local reading room attached to the Public Hall. Sometimes this has been badly mutilated. But recently it hasn't.

Twice the Essex County Council have been approached to consider taking copies for the Branch library, and have rejected the idea. Persistently, dogmatically, Henry Francies is about to try again.

### GOOD INTRODUCTIONS

"I gained a reader directly through circulation in adjoining roads of the Acland pamphlets and Soper leaflets," he says, "overprinted with my address." Last year in a door-to-door effort, he gained another four readers the same way.

One commercial traveller visiting his office, regularly asks for a copy and pays for it.

The secret of Henry Francies' success in boosting sales is his personal approach.

Although he sends copies on sale or return to local newsagents, he deals personally with contributors to the local Press or anyone whose views are made public in its columns.

"I pass a copy over inviting their attention to some feature in which I may have reason to think they may be interested, and then call for their views later, or offer a few weeks' trial run. I think that most of my readership comes this way."

## Around and about Britain

A SECOND student from Stanford Hall, the Co-operative College in Loughborough, has been sentenced to three months imprisonment for refusing to be conscripted.

Last Autumn John Hammond was sent to jail as a conscientious objector, and now Dick Douglas, Chairman of the Co-operative College Pacifist Fellowship has been given a three months sentence.

This will possibly mean that Dick Douglas will not be able to take his examinations this session, and the College Magazine temporarily has lost one of its Editors.

Dick Douglas, a Glaswegian, confesses to an odd ambition. He wants to be the father of Britain's first woman Prime Minister!

TRADE UNIONS affiliated to the Bristol Peace Council (which has for its Secretary a pacifist, Freda M. Clegg), are the Union of Post Office Workers, Scientific Workers, the Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, the AEU, and the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union.

Several political bodies have a voice on the Council, including the Independent Labour Party, Common Wealth, and the University Socialist Society.

Bristol International Club, the Woodcraft Supporters and the Adult School Union are also supporters of the Council.

The local PPU Group is affiliated to it, and Chairman of the PPU Group, Will Parkin, is the Organising Secretary of the Peace Council.

HOPING to produce a play which will arouse local interest is E. Neville Wellington, of Dartford Branch, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Its theme will be Christian pacifism.

Members of the Dartford FoR have adopted a refugee in Australia, and have also been running an appeal through the local Press for clothes and money for the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief and the British Council of Churches.

They meet on the second or third Sunday of each month in the Congregational Schoolroom, West Hill, at 8 p.m., and welcome anyone who is interested. Part of their schedule is meeting other groups, discussing and explaining pacifism.

A CIVIC RECEPTION by the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, a public meeting addressed by Vera Brittain and excursions to places of local interest will all be features of the Triennial International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and

Freedom to be held in Britain from July 23 to 28.

The theme of the Congress is "The WILPF in the Atomic Age," and it will be held at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

BRIGHTON Friends (Quakers) have been distributing the pamphlet "A Call to Christian Action" (obtainable from Friends Peace Committee) to the congregations of other churches. One minister suggested that he preach a sermon on the subject and arrange a meeting at which the Quakers could talk with interested members of his congregation. The leaflet was also widely distributed at a United Nations Association meeting which discussed "The Hydrogen Bomb. Can the Churches give a lead?"

For a month prior to each military registration date, Brighton Friends exhibit on the railway station and on a local notice board, the poster "Notice to Young Men about to Register for Military Service," which calls attention to the right to register as a conscientious objector.

They are also actively interested in watching over the care of overseas students in the town.

A FREE-LANCE writer, Mary M. Simpson, conducts a one-woman campaign in Fifeshire, by writing letters to the Press upon subjects relating to the peace movement. She has been published in Edinburgh newspapers as well as by her own local Press.

She joined forces with Sybil White and Miss McPherson selling Peace News outside an "abolish hanging" meeting in Edinburgh recently.

IN Leicester, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends (Quakers) have co-operated in the founding of an Anglo-Overseas Centre, which promotes social, cultural and sporting activities among the growing number of coloured immigrants in the city. This is proving a useful meeting place for white and coloured people alike, and is already bringing about a deeper understanding.

G. I. Hythe of Leicester Peace Committee (SoP) says that pacifist groups recently combined to advertise and support the showing of the now-famous film "Children of Hiroshima," in the local cinema.

In the foyer, a petition asking the Government to discontinue the production of nuclear weapons and discontinue the tests was signed by several hundred people in two days. After that, for "technical" reasons, says G. I. Hythe, it was removed.







## EILEEN FLETCHER STANDS FIRM

prisons are not shown on commitment warrants which do, however, indicate whether the person is sentenced as a juvenile, between 14 and 18, or as an adult.

Prison record-sheets, he said, were made out on admission of prisoners by an African clerk from commitment warrants and from the answers of prisoners.

He declared that in one case the age of 18 had been altered to 11 in a different coloured ink. He said he did not know by whom or for what purpose the alterations were made, but they were unauthorised.

The ages of all the girls in Kamiti has now been confirmed by a panel of three Kikuyu women "of equivalent standing to tribal elders" that "all were of or over the age of 14 and of adult tribal age groups when sentenced."

Mr. Dugdale described the reply as "most disturbing."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd declared that at his invitation Miss Fletcher had that morning come to the Colonial Office with her copies of the prison records to discuss "apparent differences" in reports on the prison records "with officers of my Department and with the Attorney-General of Kenya, whom I had asked to come home to England, bringing those originals with him."

He insisted that one record contained an alteration of 18 to 11. "Miss Fletcher said that there were no alterations in the ages shown on the original records when she copied details from them, and she offered no comment on the fact that the age she ascribed to this prisoner, 11, was the same as the altered age on the original records."

### Questions dodged

Miss Fletcher had said she wished to have legal advice before proceeding with the matter. "I have no quarrel with that whatever," said Mr. Lennox-Boyd.

Mr. Brockway declared that Miss Fletcher had also indicated that she was prepared to make a legal deposition to the effect that she stood by her statements.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd acknowledged that, and said, "I also stand by everything that I said during the debate and today."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd dodged questions by Mrs. Castle asking whether there were prison

records not altered which listed ages as under 14, and by Mr. Paget asking whether young girls under 18 could not be released "without any real danger to our safety?"

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, pressed by Mr. Bevan, stated that he did not know when or by whom the age had been altered, or whether it had been altered before or after the signature of the prison authorities. He said, "I am deliberately concentrating on the age of this particular prisoner."

## BECHUANALAND

FROM PAGE ONE

These traps, however, are sufficiently heavy to hold a lion, and can only be carried by men for short distances with difficulty.

Nine houses are being built this year to "obviate the present need to use other forms of restraint."

Confirming the floggings of women, the document stated that at Mahalapye early in 1955, "a woman called Gabatshelwe was given three strokes of the cane on being found guilty of using insulting language to a seller of charms."

"Also at Mahalapye in March, 1955, a woman called Manye (Mathabu) and her son Thabu were sentenced to two and three strokes respectively for insulting a woman." (Earlier reports listed Thabu as one of the women flogged).

The District officer who inspected both these cases following Mr. Brockway's questions, "drew the attention" of the Subordinate Native Authority "to the undesirability of administering corporal punishment, however mild, to women," the statement declared.

"This direction has had its effect; there have been no more cases of the corporal punishment of women in the Mahalapye Court. The Native Authority has since issued a general directive in the Bamangwato Reserve that corporal punishment should not be administered to women."

The Commonwealth Relations Office has not denied that the school girls and boys were flogged publicly in Kgotla.

"A tribal policeman gave each child three strokes," stated the report. It was explained that the children had become "drunk" and began fighting in a lorry.

The punishment was considered more lenient than expulsion from school and that it "would be in the best interests of the children."

It was originally charged that six boys and six girls were flogged; the Government does not mention the number given "three strokes."

Concerning the charges that women were tied to poles and trees, and that tribal police had attempted to sleep with the wives of men similarly tied to poles and trees, the report stated that "so far as can be ascertained," the women were wives or other relatives of certain Bushmen (Masarwa), arrested for stock theft.

### WOMEN TIED TO POLES

"The women became excited and abused the men undertaking the arrest. A squabble ensued, as a result of which the women were restrained until nightfall, when they were placed in a hut and released the next day. They were not interfered with and have sworn statements to this effect."

"The Subordinate Native Authority, Modise, acted neither irresponsibly nor cruelly in this case," the statement said.

But there was no denial that the women had been tied to poles and trees.

The statement also referred to charges that Masasa's wife was handcuffed and tied by ox chain to lion traps for days, and that her husband disappeared while he was the prisoner of Oteng Mphoeng at Madinare.

The government statement admitted that Masasa's (sic) wife had been "detained for investigation" in connection with her husband's "escape." Masasa, a Bushman, had been reportedly arrested for stock theft.

The report declared that "No further evidence was obtained" from his wife "and she

## MUSTE

FROM PAGE TWO

that in this letter. But the situation here presented and the possibilities it holds are matters of world significance and, as already suggested, the cleavage appears to be pretty profound.

Mehta inclines strongly to support of Nehru and to considerable collaboration between Congress and the Praja Socialist Party which may lead to the absorption of the latter in the former in some such way as the Roosevelt New Deal helped to dissipate the Socialist Party in the US. From his standpoint socialism in India will have its chance if economic crisis is avoided.

Lohia would be sharply critical of Nehru and avoid collaboration. In his view it is precisely the coming economic crisis which will give Socialism a chance, if there are Socialists to take advantage of it.

## The great bear tamer

★ FROM PAGE SEVEN

The good wishes, the soul force, of the whole Indo-British Family of Nations (India by virtue of her numbers is now the dominant partner in it. It is now India's own. India is proud of it) stands behind him.

"It is time now for Sir Anthony Eden to declare that no nation abhors war and armaments more than Britain, that Britain today is no longer the old colonial power that she was, but is, through God's Grace deliberately and joyfully leading all colonial and subject peoples to full freedom and independence, that Britain also aims at nothing but complete abolition of all armed forces and armaments."

"In this matter, let not Sir Anthony look to America but to God, to the highest good of the British people, of the Commonwealth and the world. Let Sir Anthony go it alone, independently, with God."

## IF . . . . .?

I appreciate the sincerity of your article WITCH-HUNTING 1956, but if Mr. Lang were to give away secrets to Russia we might be defeated in a war against them. Surely we must protect ourselves? Pacifism is all very well in theory, but if in 1939 we had been pacifist, i.e., totally unarmed, what would have happened to this country? Surely it was right to defend ourselves against Hitler?

—Extract from letter, June 15, 1956.

PACIFISTS are constantly asked a great many hypothetical questions, and there are some people who believe such questions should be ignored, and that only questions of fact or opinion really matter, as though hypothetical meant something untrue or worthless.

"Hypothesis" means "something assumed to be true for the sake of testing its soundness, or bringing out new evidence." Obviously, therefore, if pacifists believe something about which so many say: "that is all very well in theory, but not in practice," then it is only honest, as well as absolutely essential to the cause of pacifism, to examine these hypothetical situations.

It is, of course, perfectly true that if Mr. Lang, or for that matter any other person, were to give away information about secret weapons or war processes of any kind this might make defeat possible should there be a war.

Obviously, so long as there are preparations for war there will be such risks to be countered, and so called protection against them will continue to violate the freedom of the individual.

But this has nothing whatever to do with pacifism; in fact my object last week was to point out the futility of the outcry against Mr. Lang's dismissal coming from those who accept a national policy which involves precisely this kind of tyranny against persons.

The other question, however, is so constantly asked, and so insistently, that clearly, the fear which underlies it is one of the greatest barriers between the non-pacifist position and the pacifist one.

Many intelligent reasoners, sincere Christians, genuine peace-lovers, all truly desirous of abandoning the method of war, stagger back at the point of this question; suddenly, just as they are reaching out towards acceptance of pacifism, they remember Hitler.

They remember the exiling of the Jews, the concentration camps, the tortures, the threat of totalitarian domination of Europe and

was released the next day." "The Subordinate Native Authority, Modise, was not present when these events occurred," and the policeman was doing his duty by investigating.

The statement declared that because of information provided by Mr. Brockway on May 31, "Further investigation is being made into the allegations about Masasa's wife's detention . . ."

"The Government have not denied that she was handcuffed and tied by ox chain to lion traps, although it has denied that she was held longer than over night."

Massasa, the report stated, "is reported to be living with his sister in the Bokalaka area. There is no evidence to support the suggestion that he has been done away with by the Subordinate Native Authority, Oteng. He is a Bushman and therefore extremely hard to trace."

There was no suggestion in the charges that he had been "done away with" but rather that he might be doing forced labour for Oteng.

The investigation is "not yet complete" on the charge that men were made to "dance in a mud pit to mix mud while ox chains were tied round their waists to tether them to poles and that at night they were tied to lion traps."

The Government has also now admitted that two boys were handcuffed and "detained" overnight for refusing to be inoculated during a mass inoculation campaign.

Mr. Allan Noble had declared on February 4 that there was "no substance" in the charge that the boys had been punished.

### MORE ADMISSIONS

In his letter to Mr. Brockway of June 14, however, he said, "Further investigation has shown that this was incorrect," he said.

The document stated that "The Subordinate Native Authority, Oteng, has confirmed that he caused the two boys Rabaruti Manyame and Rasethora Sephukwe to be detained overnight because they had been reported to him by the Headmaster of their school for having evaded inoculation. During the night they were handcuffed but their relatives brought them food and blankets. They were released the next morning."

Oteng had "intended to give the boys a salutary lesson," stated the report. "He was ill-advised in his action, but no harm was suffered by the two youths concerned, one of whom was over 20 and the other 16 or 17."

The Government have not denied that they were tied up the night in a cold hut.

The report concerning food and blankets being brought by their relatives contradicts the earlier reports that the relatives of Rasethora came to locate him the next morning, and that the parents of Rabaruti did not go to the Subordinate Native Authority at all. It was reported that the boys had no blankets or bedding.

"Investigation of the complaints about the fining of three men one beast each in connection with the case is not yet complete," the report concluded. These fines referred to Rasethora's relatives being extra-legally fined an ox each for inquiring about Rasethora.

Concerning the murder of a Bushman, Radi, alleged to have been committed by two witch doctors of Tsheredi, and who were hence reported to have been given unusually light treatment, Mr. Noble now reports that "This has been the subject of a preliminary enquiry recently completed, as a result of which two men have been committed to trial. The only connection the Subordinate Native Authority has with the case is that he has been subpoenaed as a defence witness to the alibi of the accused."

Investigations into other cases continue.

## MISSING REPORT

FROM PAGE ONE

made by Miss Fletcher were made? Since Miss Fletcher had to make these things public, clearly they had not been corrected.

"And since they were grave abuses it would seem that the only assurance the churches can have of adequate action, is public debate and public inquiry."

The editor strongly criticised church officials who sought to work with the Government "from the inside and in private," declaring that it "has never been true" that more positive results could be obtained by such methods.

Mr. Morrison has watched the Colonial Office in action in the Fletcher case. Does he believe Mr. Lennox-Boyd knows nothing of the memoranda he himself has signed? Did he tell the Colonial Office he had more than once made similar charges in writing and had judged them with the Governor? And if he has told them so, and still watched the footwork of the Colonial Office, has he been filled with admiration for his own part in the affair?

"The credit of the church and the integrity of its witness are at stake," the British Weekly article declared.

## AFTER OXFORD: AYLESBURY

OXFORD, deluged in wintry rain and ground almost to a standstill by its incredible traffic, presented a most unlikely prospect for the Peace Pledge Union's latest "Objective Peace," held there last Saturday. Yet 20 poster paraders, challenging peace slogans held aloft, attracted much attention as they processed through the thronged streets.

A Brains Trust in the evening was an undoubted success.

"Objective Peace" moves on to Aylesbury this weekend, based on Friends Meeting House, Pickfords Hill, from 3.30 p.m., back to London for a mass rally in Trafalgar Square on June 30, and then out to Salisbury on July 7. It is worth travelling many miles to take part in one of these stimulating campaigns. H. F. M.

## MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

### PUBLIC MEETING

## The Problems of Kenya

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE  
WEDNESDAY, 27 JUNE, 1956  
at 7.30 p.m.

### SPEAKERS:

LESLIE HALE, M.P.

EILEEN FLETCHER

(Former Rehabilitation Officer, Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation, Kenya Government)

TOM MBOYA (Kenya) JOSEPH MURUMBI (Kenya)

Tickets: 1/- from MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM  
374 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1 or at the door.

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## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to  
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## Listen in to BBC West Region on Monday June 25 at 6.30 p.m.

SERVAS, (PEACEBUILDERS)

will be on the air in

"Window on the West"

An interview between an

"Open Door" and an Indian traveller

## LET'S ABOLISH WAR!

A CALL TO YOU TO JOIN IN A

## MARCH

TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE ON

Saturday

30th June

LED BY THE

LONDON  
PIPE BAND

Assemble at

Dick Sheppard House,

8 Endsleigh St. W.C.1

at 1.45 p.m.

Trafalgar Square

at 3 p.m.

After Trafalgar Square

ANY QUESTIONS IN

CAXTON HALL, TUDOR ROOM

Caxton Street, S.W.1 at 6.30 p.m.

answered by

CLIFFORD MACQUIRE

STUART MORRIS

MINNIE PALLISTER

VICTOR YATES, M.P.

Question Master: CECIL HEATH